

Message Text

SECRET

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S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 4195

EXDIS SALT

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY DEPUTY MINISTER
SEMENTOV AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MAY 27, 1977

BEGIN TEXT

THE USSR DELEGATION WOULD LIKE TO DRAW THE ATTENTION
OF THE U.S. SIDE TO SO IMPORTANT A QUESTION AS REACHING
AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS RELATED TO ARTICLE II, PAR. 1--
THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

DISCUSSION OF THIS QUESTION IN THE COURSE OF THE
PREVIOUS EXCHANGE OF VIEWS RESULTED IN BRINGING SUBSTAN-
TIALY CLOSER TOGETHER THE APPROACHES OF THE SIDES WITH
RESPECT TO APPROPRIATE FORMULATIONS FOR INCLUSION IN THE
DRAFT TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT.

IT IS CLEAR FROM THE STATEMENTS OF THE DELEGATIONS
AT THE MEETINGS OF OCTOBER 13 AND 20, 1976 THAT ACTUALLY
THERE IS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE SIDES REGARDING THE WORDING
OF THE TEXT OF ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, ITSELF.

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AS FOR THE AGREED STATEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IN CON-
NECTION WITH THIS PROVISION OF THE DRAFT, HERE, TOO, A
COMPARISON OF THE RESPECTIVE TEXTS SHOWS THAT THE POSITIONS
OF THE SIDES ARE EXTREMELY CLOSE ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE
QUESTION OF THE MEANING OF THE TERM "ICBM LAUNCHERS," AS
DEFINED IN ARTICLE II, PAR. 1.

PREVIOUS DISCUSSION SHOW THAT THE SIDES DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY TO METNION ANY SPECIFIC DATE, SUCH AS MAY 26, 1972, IN THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT UNDER CONSIDERATION.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I WOULD LIKE TO RECALL THAT, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CONCERN EXPRESSED BY THE U.S. SIDE AS TO HOW THE U.S. ATLAS AND TITAN-1 ICBM LAUNCHERS WILL BE REGARDED IN CONNECTION WITH THE AGREEMENT BEING WORKED OUT, THE USSR DELEGATION EXPRESSED ITS READINESS TO CONSIDER THIS QUESTION FAVORABLY IN CONJUNCTION WITH PROGRESS IN REACHING AGREEMENT ON THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE II, PARAS.1 AND 2. ON A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE BASIS.

AT TTHE SAME TIME, ALONG WITH ELEMENTS OF THE QUESTION UNDER CONSIDERATION THAT COINCIDE OR ARE CLOSE, DIFFERENCES ALSO REMAIN.

THEY CONCERN THE USE OF SUCH VAGUE WORD COMBINATIONS, BRACKETED IN THE SOVIET TEXT WITH FOOTNOTE 2, AS "IF A LAUNCHER HAS CONTAINED AN ICBM" OR "HAS LAUNCHED AN ICBM," AS WELL AS THE REFERENCE THEREIN TO SO-CALLED "FACTS" CITED AS EXAMPLES. THE APPROACH REFLECTED IN THESE PROVISIONS WOULD OPEN THE DOOR TO VARIOUS UNCERTAINTIES AND SUBJECTIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF THE OBLIGATIONS BEING ASSUMED BY THE SIDES. THISWOULD CREATEPRECONDITIONS FOR ARBITRARY AND GROUND-LESS INCLUSION AMONG LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS OF MISSILE LAUCNHRS THAT ARE NOT SUCH LAUNCHERS; THIS WOULD BE DIRECTLY CONTRARY TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DEMBER 10, 1974, WHICH PROVIDES FOR LIMITATION, WITH
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IN THE 2,400 OVERALL LEVEL, OF PRECISELY LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS. IN THIS CONNECTION, WE ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT INCLUSION OF THESE PROVISIONS IN THE TEST OF THE AGREED STATEMENT BEING WORKED OUT IN CONNECTION WITH ARTICLE II, PAR. 1, IS INAPPROPRIATE.

THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS HELD CLEARLY SHOWS THAT, IN WORKING OUT THE PROVISIONS RELATED TO THE DEFINITION OF LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS, THE U.S. SIDE ATTACHES PARTCULARLY GREAT IMPORTANCE TO THE USE OF THE WORD "TYPE."

IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE APPROACH EXPRESSED BY THIS WORD AT THE PRESENT TIME, WHEN ITS MEANING IN THE CONTEXT UNDER CONSIDERATION IS NOT CLEAR, COULD, THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1874 NOTWITHSTANDING, LEAD TO COUNTTING LAUNCHERS WHICHARE NOT LAND-BASED ICBM LAUNCHERS WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGRATE NUMBER.

CONSIDERING THE INTEREST MANIFESTED BY THE U.S. SIDE,

AND TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY OF REACHING AGREEMENT
ON THE TEXT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT TO ARTICLE II,
PAR. 1, THE USSR DELEGATION COULD CONSIDER THE QUESTION
OF USING THE TERM "TYPE" IN THIS CONTEXT, WITH THE UNDER-
STANDING, NATURALLY, THAT THE CONTENT OF THIS TERM BE IN
STRICT ACCORD WITH THE DECISIONS RECORDED IN THE AIDE
MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.EARLE

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